

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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The Great Adventure

THE soul of man is an adventurous soul. The great adventure of humanity, its ascent to the light and its conquest of nature, has developed a soul in which the unity of courage and aspiration issues its defiance to death. The soul of man is in that Great Adventure which is Life.

If you can invoke the spirit of the Great Adventure in man, you loose a force that is unconquerable. It was this soul, this adventurous yearning for the light and a new world, that was used consciously and calculatingly by the masters of bourgeois society to "carry on" the war. The soul of man responded; and this response is the great tragedy of the war.

The enthusiasm, the courage, the aspirations of man were mobilized in the war,—a war to make the world safe for the old and the dead. Men died and were mangled, suffering the tortures of the damned; children starved, while women cried the cry of death and despair. The strength of man, his will to dare and do, conquered over suffering and death, conquered in a cause that makes mud of the spirit of the Great Adventure. For the spirit of this Great Adventure in man is life and the love of life; the spirit of this Great Adventure in man is for a new world—but this war was a war to sustain an old world, of oppression and death; this spirit of the Great Adventure in man is for humanity—but the war was a war against humanity.

The Great Adventure became the great tragedy—while preparing man for that real Great Adventure which is the Revolution. . . .

Man's conquest of nature, his mastery of the earth and the winds, the sea and the sky, is the means of his ascent to light and a new world. This conquest of nature is the Great Adventure, which never ends and which always inspires new conquests.

While distinguished gentlemen in Paris, whose mission in life is to distort the spirit of the Great Adventure to the evil ends of Capitalism, of death and oppression, were wreaking their evil will upon the world, aviation offered us another symbol of the unconquerable adventurous soul of man.

Into the sky and the winds and over the sea, man, with a machine built by his ingenuity and sustained by courage and aspiration, tried to do that which was never done before—to fly in the mysterious air over the terrible depths of the sea. These aviators were to fly through an air-way never charted by man; above an ocean, savagely eager to end their adventure in the waters of its being. Mishap was death; hesitation might in a moment end their adventure; the winds might direct them to disaster and the waters close over them in death. But, alight with the spirit of the Great Adventure, they made their flight, majestic, unafraid.

And the most adventurous of all were those who almost met disaster. The Americans had planned it all; they had prepared to balk death of its prey with all the ingenuity of man—courses had been charted, ships were everywhere to assist them in case of mishap. The danger was there; but it was lessened.

But the ones who almost met disaster, the Britishers alight with the mystery and the joy of the open spaces, made no preparations. They had no course charted; they had no months of preparation behind them, no ships waiting to assist them against death. Alone, with just their machine and their unconquerable will and courage, they plunged into the depth of the ocean and the sky. Death awaited them; and the sky and the ocean and the winds conspired with death to accomplish their doom. They almost met death, that death which is the maker of life for those that would come after them, that death which is the final symbol of the spirit of the Great Adventure. Others shall come, and others shall conquer the depths of the sky and the ocean, and the malignity of the winds. It is the mystery of life that some shall meet death in order that others may inherit and beautify life. . . .

But man's conquest of nature is not the end of his Great Adventure. The conquest of nature must finally

ally meet and unite with man's conquest of man, with the conquest of society for Man, for life and the joy of life.

Hawker and his unconquerable comrades almost met death in order that man might conquer over nature. At the moment that they met death and conquered, other men, aye, and women and children, too, were actually meeting death in the spirit of the Great Adventure that man might conquer over man, conquer society for Man and for life, for peace and work and happiness.

Just as nature, while producing life conspires against life, so man, in producing society conspires against man and society. The conspiracy is the con-

spiracy of the few against the many, of the master against the slave, of the ruler against the ruled,—the conspiracy of the ages. In our day, it is the conspiracy of the capitalist against the worker, of Capitalism against Socialism.

But the revolutionary masses of Russia, in their Great Adventure, met with almost inhuman and insuperable obstacles. Disorganized by four years of war, opposed by the whole world of privilege and oppression, they were to build a new world! Alone, they defied the past and the present; alone, they defied the economic and military power of international Capitalism. Out of agony and tears, out of death and starvation, they clung to their ideal, they tried to make real that dream of the ages,—man's conquest of the tyranny of man, realizing a free world and a free humanity.

Some sneered the sneer of the cynic, others violently opposed this finest expression of the Great Adventure. Evil men in Russia, evil with the ignorance of the ages, evil with the knowledge that comes to the master of men, united to destroy the new society that was being built in blood and tears, and the ideals,—built by the men in the streets and the fields, ordinary men in whom is the uncouth but human magnificence of the Great Adventure. These evil men used bullets, and they used more terrible means: they used starvation, they did all they could to disorganize the economic life of Russia, in order that the ideal of the new society should wither,—even if it meant condemning a hundred million men, women and children to starvation and death.

But, inspired by the vision of the new life, drunk with the wine of the Great Adventure, the Russian masses made short shrift of these evil men. They might starve and they might suffer, but they would conquer! The Great Adventure was in their blood,—flaming out in the unconquerable spirit of the Revolution.

Then the evil men of other nations conspired against the Great Adventure in Russia. They conspired with slander and deceit, with death and misery. They used bullets, but they, still more, used the coward's means, lies and starvation. They blockaded Russia, denied it access to the world, encouraged counter-revolutionary intrigue to demoralize the Soviet Government and Soviet industry, they refused to allow food or machinery into Russia,—all in a desperate attempt to starve out the Soviet Revolution by starving its citizens.

The quick death of an aviator plunging into the maelstrom of winds and seas is a much easier death than slow starvation. But the Russian people accepted starvation; they refused to act against the Revolution in order to secure food. For eighteen months they have fought the world, they have starved, they have been shot; but they are undaunted, they are determined to realize that finest manifestation of the Great Adventure,—the conquest of man over man, of death over life, of Socialism over Capitalism. . . .

Life itself calls to man to engage in this Great Adventure. Life itself decrees that man must complete his conquest over nature by the conquest of society. The conquest of life, of tyranny of man over man, is infinitely more difficult than the conquest of the air. But it is finer, more necessary, more inspiring.

The weak may balk, and the evil oppose. But it is in man himself to engage in this adventure of the Revolution.

Of what avail is it to conquer the oppression of nature, if the oppression of man by man persists? Of what avail is it to secure the mastery of nature, if the masses do not secure the mastery of industry? Of what avail is it to wring life of nature, if the masters of men condemn the workers to death in industry, in society, in war?

The Great Adventure of the Revolution calls to you, men and women of the proletariat. The conquest of nature—complete it by the conquest of Socialism over Capitalism!

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, issued by Local Boston, (Louis C. Fraina, Secretary); Local Cleveland, (C. E. Ruttenberg, Secretary) and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City.

The international situation and the crisis in the American Socialist Party, the sabotage the party bureaucracy has practiced on the emergency national convention; the N. E. C. aligning our party with the social-patriots at Berne, with the Congress of the Great Betrayal; the necessity of reconstructing our policy in accord with revolutionary events—all this, and more, makes it necessary that the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party get together for counsel and action.

This call is therefore issued for the holding of a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, to discuss:

1.—The crisis in the party, and action thereon; the conquest of the party for the party, for revolutionary Socialism.

2.—The New International; ways and means to prevent the party aligning itself with the "international" of the social-patriots, of the Ebert-Scheidemann gangsters, and the wavering centre; affiliation with the Bolshevik-Spartan International alone.

3.—The formulation of a declaration of principles and purposes of a national scope of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.

4.—Forming some sort of a national council or bureau of the Left Wing, for propaganda, securing of information and spreading information.

5.—To express and draw together the revolutionary forces in the party; to consider other means of furthering the cause of revolutionary Socialism.

This call is issued to locals of the Socialist Party, branches and Left Wing groups within the party. The test of admission, provisionally, will be acceptance of the Manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Greater New York.

Left Wing locals are invited to send delegates officially. Where a local officially refuses to participate, branches or minority groups in the party accepting the principles of the Left Wing should send delegates.

Representation—one delegate for every 500 members. No local or group should send more than four delegates. Locals, branches or groups of less than 500 are entitled to one delegate.

The conference will be held starting Saturday, June 21, at some central city to be decided after the distribution of delegates is considered.

Left Wing Locals and Branches, act! Send communications to Maximilian Cohen, 43 West 29th Street, New York City.

spiracy of the few against the many, of the master against the slave, of the ruler against the ruled,—the conspiracy of the ages. In our day, it is the conspiracy of the capitalist against the worker, of Capitalism against Socialism.

The Great Adventure of our generation is not the conquest of man over nature, but the conquest of man over man, of Socialism over Capitalism, of revolution over oppression and misery.

Consider that Great Adventure which is revolutionary Russia, the most magnificent epic of the ages.

After an agonizing war, exhausted and starved by its malevolent fury, the Russian people overthrew the despotism of the Czars. In that act, they asserted their independence of the past. But they were still

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A Warning

FRANK A. VANDERLIP, president of the National City Bank, has long been considered as one of the few men from the capitalist ranks who has an intelligent grasp of the world situation. He has just returned from Europe and unlike the others of his class who have been recently on the other side of the water he has no tales of atrocities, nationalization of women, mass terrors, or other bugaboos. But he has quite a lot to say about the real situation in Europe. Apparently he has kept his eyes and ears open and has not allowed his prejudices to bias his judgement.

He comes back to tell of Europe seething with revolt and he warns that unless food, clothing and shelter is provided without delay revolution will engulf the whole world. Mr. Vanderlip sees the forces at work, he has no illusions about democracy, or any of the other fine phrases. He sees the masses starving, he sees the governments playing chess with the people of the earth and he also sees that the chessmen are loaded with dynamite.

"Europe must get work if it is to be saved, but it must be helped even to start to work" he says and goes on to assure his auditors that he is not exaggerating the gravity of the situation. He replies to the attitude taken by many that "things will straighten out in the long run": "I would answer that hungry stomachs will not wait for 'things to straighten out in the long run.'"

However, although Mr. Vanderlip sees pretty clearly he does not, and can not in view of his position, see that things have gone beyond the stage where the masses cannot be put off with anything less than the whole product of their toil.

The masses are beginning to realize that the cause of their misery lies in the capitalist system of society and as this realization grows the determination strengthens to sweep away this cursed system and on its ruins to build the new state of the Cooperative Commonwealth.

No palliatives will avail now; the peoples are awakening to the realities of the situation, and insisting in ever swelling numbers that the future of humanity must never again rest with the system that has bathed the earth in blood for nearly five years and is even now marshalling its forces in such a manner that the next generation will inevitably face an even greater catastrophe, if capitalism is allowed to continue in power.

They Are Still There!

WITH every recurring crisis in the labor movement of the Allied countries a statement is issued by one or other of the "Big Four" that the policy towards Russia is undergoing a change, that the troops are to be withdrawn, that the Allies are exercised over events in that country and that they aim only to accomplish the greatest good for the greatest number of the Russian people. As the crisis is weathered the powers that be forget all about Russia and the prostitute press resumes its startling announcements about the defeat of the Bolsheviks.

Now comes the story that Lenin has sued for an armistice with Kolchak, that Petrograd is in flames, Moscow is being evacuated, and Bolshevism is biting the dust of defeat. Along with the dispatch which is dated at Helsingfors, is printed a resume of events leading up to this desirable state of affairs. It appears that the British troops have played a considerable part, the Italians also receive favorable mention, as do the French and Americans. All these countries have endeavored to give the impression from time to time that they were on the verge of leaving Russia and now it comes up again that they are actively engaged against the workers and peasants of Russia. Why? Ostensi-

ably in the interests of Admiral Kolchak's "Government," which is admittedly a dictatorship of the same pattern as the late Czar's regime, and the restoration of "order" in Russia. In reality these workers, in the uniforms of their various masters, are fighting the workers and peasants of Russia in the interests of Capitalism. Every bullet fired into the ranks of Russia's proletarian army is a shot aimed at the heart of the working class the world over.

No matter how the tide of battle rolls in far off Russia, one fact is certain—Bolshevism cannot be defeated. It is here to stay. After their heroic fight for nearly two years the Russian workers may suffer overwhelming defeat but the hour of their defeat will be the hour of their victory and the victory of the world's oppressed. Consciously or unconsciously the hopes of the workers are centered on Russia. Every man that senses in any way his class affiliations looks towards Russia and the number that turn their gaze eastward is daily increasing. With the announcement that Russia has been crushed to earth the reaction will come—the feeling of loss will awaken the consciousness of millions. But the end is yet a long way off, the Russian workers are not yet defeated. . . .

The Helsingfors dispatch is merely a sign of the growing boldness of the reactionary forces, a try out of the temper of the Allied workers. Kolchak is to be the victor, the Allies are not to appear on the scene in the star role. A Russian is to bring about the downfall of the Russians! For this reason the Allies have been centering their main efforts on supplying Kolchak with food, arms and ammunition, and occasionally without any vulgar ostentation—a shipload of troops. Kolchak is to be victor, Bolshevism is to suffer defeat at the hands of a real Russian, the Allies will recognize Russia and all will be well—for Capitalism. It is time for Labor to again assert itself, it is time for a movement in the ranks of the Allied workers.

Alien troops are still at Archangel and Vladivostok. . . .

Labor in England

THE report that "thousands of discharged soldiers and sailors out of employment, armed with stones and other missiles, marched upon the House of Commons" gives some inkling of the measure of the situation in England. The further news that when the police stopped the marchers they re-formed and proceeded towards Buckingham Palace shows the temper of the people.

The march towards the parliament building, though in these days of world revolution significant enough, is not unusual. Many unemployed demonstrations have taken a similar line of march, as have all other parades expressive of popular discontent. But the turn towards Buckingham Palace is more unusual. The average English subject is in the habit of thinking of the king as apart from the government and rarely is he connected with any disapproval of conditions. He is looked upon as the figurhead of the empire and is considered to be removed from the actual function of governing. That is his safe-guard.

On the continent the king, kaiser or czar has always been looked upon as the actual government and the people immediately connected him with their distress. On the continent the kings, kaisers and czars have been swept into the discard for this very reason and once the masses get to the point of dethroning a monarch they make a clean sweep and throw the government out also. It is easier to overthrow a monarch than a parliament. A monarch is more removed from the people and in their eyes more autocratic.

Parliaments have the fiction of being representative of the people and can apparently be ousted by balloting. But a monarch is an autocrat, immediately the people connect him with their distress. It may be that the English soldiers and sailors marched towards Buckingham Palace because when they were diverted from the Houses of Parliament they wanted to march somewhere, but it may be that they turned in that direction because they are beginning to think of other forms of government. If the English workers once forget that the king is a figurehead, if they get the idea that the ballot does not record their wishes then things will happen quickly in the British Empire.

The "triple alliance" is turning its attention more and more to the political questions of conscription, the withdrawal of the troops from Russia, the release of the conscientious objectors, and the lifting of the questions of wages and hours are consequently sinking into the background. The leaders of the "triple alliance" are men of the conservative labor union type, and here and there a radical like Robert Smilie. These "leaders," with the exception of the Smilies, will always act for the government and against the rank and file, but already they have curbed the wishes

of the workers on more than one occasion and signs are not wanting that a revolt against this type of leadership is brewing. The more political become the demands, the harder it will be for the Thomases to thwart the will of the workers. In the economic field compromises, carefully worded promises, doles, etc., can be made to avert trouble, but when demands become political, compromises are not so effective, in fact, they are more likely to become so many additional irritants.

If British labor is in earnest about the withdrawal of the troops from Russia, the recognition of Kolchak and supplying him with munitions to destroy the Russian workers will not satisfy the demand, even though the British soldiers actually do leave Russia. While the demand that the German blockade be lifted shows that the workers are giving thought to world affairs.

The decision of the police union to present an ultimatum to the government and in the event of refusal to declare a strike all over the country is significant. If the government continues its present policy and the strike is actually declared it may well prove the match which will explode the powder.

To say the least, the situation is not as black as the headlines about Russia would seem to indicate. From all accounts Lloyd-George will have something else to do in the immediate future than help to "frame-up" the revolutionary workers of Russia. The situation from the labor aspect alone is critical; when the unemployed soldiers and sailors are taken into consideration together with the fact that police who have just taken a strike vote are not likely to be violently antagonistic to striking miners, railwaymen and dockers, the critical aspect of the labor situation becomes the critical aspect of a revolutionary situation.

Polish Freedom

ONE of the ideals for which the Allies were fighting and upon which they now insist in the Peace Terms is the "freedom of small and subject peoples." It is upon this principle that they have restored nationhood to the Poles. Poland is now recognized by all the civilized powers as a nation and her emissaries are received in Paris on questions affecting her interests. She is recognized as a nation fit to take her place among the others, her government subscribes to the principles of Capitalism.

Now comes the word that pogroms are in full swing in this newly liberated land. Hundreds of Jews are arrested and thrown into jail or shot down in batches without even the pretense of a trial, their homes are sacked and the women and children beaten and driven out to meet death by starvation. A dispatch to *The New York Times* from Paris reports:

"The Poles armed a mob and instigated an attack on the Jews on April 18. At the same time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks. Two hundred Jews were massacred, many of them women, while at service in a synagogue. Many children under twelve years old and men between 60 and 72 years were killed. Every Jewish home in Vilna was pillaged, and then more than 5,000 Jews were driven off to Lida, many being killed or dying of suffering on the way. Of those allowed to remain in Vilna, many, including Rabbi Rubinstein, were flogged and put in prison because they refused to sign a statement accusing the Bolsheviks of being responsible for the massacre."

The same dispatch reports that Paderewski has left for Paris to "plead for greater power and territory for the new state of Poland." No intimation is given that the Allies will refuse to receive him because of the massacres. Yet the Allies have refused to recognize the Russian Soviet Government because "it does not represent the majority of the Russian people and maintains itself by force."

Why is Poland thus favored when it is obvious that the Allies are very particular regarding the actions of the nations they recognize—at least the smaller and less powerful nations? The answer is given in the *Times* dispatch: "At the same time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Poles are to be given "freedom" because they are acting as the assassins of freedom. The fact that they are massacring the Jews is deplorable, but it must be overlooked in view of the fact that they are also attempting to massacre the Bolsheviks! At all costs the Bolsheviks must be put down in order that the world may be made safe for democracy. Poland has accepted the tenets of Capitalism and is willing to act as the hired thug of the bigger interests and just as in our own democracy the actions of strike-breakers which in other circumstances would be in violation of the law are forgotten and forgiven in view of the great service rendered to the community as a whole in beating down labor, so Poland is to be forgiven because she can be used against the Russian workers and peasants.

Large protest meetings have been held against the

pogroms by the Jews throughout America at which resolutions were passed asking the Allies to prevent a recurrence of these horrors. This is futile. As long as Poland continues to do the work Capitalism requires of her she will not be interfered with. If protests are of any use they should be directed against the real offender which in this instance is Capitalism and the only protest that can be effective is the organization of the economic might of the workers.

Protests against the pogroms in Russia under the Czar were of little use, even when backed by the hypocritical remonstrances of the great powers. When the Russian workers overthrew the Czar, the pogrom ceased. When the workers of the world rise in their might and overthrow Capitalism, pogroms, not only against the Jews but against the people's masses, will cease. As long as Capitalism remains pogroms, in one form or another, will continue, whether it be the massacre of the Jews by Gentiles, the lynching of the black man by his white brothers, the rape of subject peoples by Imperialism, or the murdering of the workers by the industrial overlords.

Bolshevism is the only guarantee to the peoples of the world against oppression. The rule of the workers, the establishment of Socialism, is the only method whereby the future of mankind can be safeguarded. All else is hypocrisy. So long as classes exist so long the world will welter in the tears and blood which have been its heritage throughout the ages.

Clear the Decks!

I

THE controversy on principles and tactics in the Socialist Party is coming to a head. It is coming to a head through the revolutionary upsurge of the membership and the decision of the moderate officials and counter-revolutionary bureaucracy in the party deciding to split the party in order to retain control.

Instead of meeting argument with argument, and facts with facts, the moderate petty bourgeois "Socialists" in the Party are answering the revolt of the membership with expulsions and with acts that throttle the will of the membership.

Branch after branch of Local New York, affiliated with the Left Wing, has been expelled; and now the National Executive Committee, in session at Chicago, expels the whole Socialist Party of the state of Michigan, with threats of other expulsions. This, clearly, is partly a criminal attempt to steal votes from Left Wing candidates, in order that the moderates may be "elected." It is, moreover, a desperate attempt to "isolate" the fires of revolutionary Socialism, lest they burn away all the fires of the moderates.

Nor are these actions isolated. They are proceeding upon a definite theory, formulated by that master strategist of the moderates, Morris Hillquit. In an article in the *New York Call* of May 21, "The Socialist Task and Outlook," Hillquit presents his attitude. The article is, on the one hand, a cleverly camouflaged plea for moderate Socialism disguised as "radical," and, on the other, a declaration of open war against the Left Wing. Hillquit insinuatingly adopts the "language" of the revolutionary Socialist; but every statement has a reservation—a sinister maneuver to mobilize indefinite revolutionary sentiment in the Party for the moderate representatives who are now speaking for—and misrepresenting—the Party. The whole performance, its subterfuge and "centrist" tendency, is exposed in the fact that, while he rejects the Berne International, Hillquit equally rejects the Communist International organized at Moscow, with which the real elements of revolutionary Socialism are now affiliating.

We shall, in a series of editorial articles, analyze the tendency of Hillquit's declaration. Let us now consider his declaration of war against the Left Wing.

Hillquit characterizes as "unfortunate" the controversy in the Party; he does not deny "the sound revolutionary impulse which animates the rank and file" of the Left Wing, but is against their tactics, and concludes:

It seems perfectly clear that, so long as this movement persists in the party, the latter's activity will be wholly taken up by mutual quarrels and recriminations. Neither "wing" will have any time for the propaganda of Socialism. There is, as far as I can see, but one remedy. It would be futile to preach reconciliation and union where antagonism runs so high. Let the Comrades on both sides do the next best thing. Let them separate, honestly, freely and without rancor. Let each side organize and work in its own way, and make such contribution to the Socialist movement in America as it can. Better a hundred times to have two numerically small Socialist organizations, each homogeneous and harmonious within itself, than to have one big party by dissensions and squabbles, an important colossus on feet of clay. The time for action is near. Let us clear the decks.

The Left Wing has depended upon propaganda. It has tried to formulate the revolutionary sentiments of the membership, to articulate their aspirations, to educate the members into a consistent and constructive proletarian class conception of Socialism. It has tried to affiliate the Socialist Party with the international revolution, with our comrades in Russia, Germany and Hungary, with the new Communist International, the heir of the revolutionary First International, betrayed and castrated by the "Socialism" of Morris Hillquit and the Second International.

The moderates in the Party have not met facts with facts and arguments with arguments. They have consistently refused to discuss the theory involved in the controversy between the right and the left, they have flouted the intelligence of the membership; and now, still dodging the fundamental issue in dispute, they resort to the brute force of expulsions and the indecency of stealing votes, in order to wreak their reactionary will upon the Party. They stigmatized the Left Wing as a secession movement, as working to split the party; but now, realizing that the Left Wing is conquering the Party for revolutionary Socialism, for the Bolshevik-Spartacan International, the moderates are adopting the policy they malignantly ascribed to the Left Wing—*split the Party!*

Every revolutionary Socialist in the Party is perfectly willing that the moderates should secede: let them secede and affiliate with the Labor Party, the radical trades-union policy of which is *their* policy. But this is not the intention of Hillquit, Lee, Germer & Co. On the contrary, they wish to retain control of the Party, even if it is necessary to expel the bulk of the membership. They want to erect a Chinese wall between the Left Wing and the Party members—they want to imprison us, in much the same way as Capitalism imprisoned the agitator. They want to retain control of the party press and party organization; they are adopting the same tactics that the Ebert-Scheidemann "Socialists" pursued against the minority in the Party—adopting the policy of expulsion and denunciation. They are social-gangsters and traitors to Socialism.

Why are these tactics necessary? If the majority of the membership is for moderate Socialism, why are the moderates disqualifying members from voting, stealing ballots in order to pile up a moderate "majority"? It is because they recognize that the majority is against them now, and if not now, will be against them in a few months. Nothing can crush the revolutionary upsurge in the Socialist Party! So the moderates adopt the tactics of brute force, of a desperate minority bent upon rule or ruin.

Clear the decks? Yes!

Revolutionary Socialism in the Party accepts the challenge. If in a minority, we are not afraid to organize a new party; we are not afraid to act precisely as the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans did: American Socialism shall be represented in the Communist International, it shall respond to the Bolshevik-Spartacan call for solidarity and action! Our comrades call—answer!

You cannot mix laborism and petty bourgeois "Socialism" with revolutionary Socialism. You cannot betray Socialism and yet claim to represent the proletarian revolution.

Clear the decks! Clear them—Clean.

But this clearing of the decks must be done by the membership. It must not be done by a few bureaucrats, acting as gangsters and betraying Socialism. We accept the challenge, but we refuse either to secede or be expelled from the Party by Hillquit, Germer, Stedman & Co. We refuse to allow the reactionary N. E. C. to sabotage the referendum vote. We refuse to allow the N. E. C. to anticipate the action of the Emergency National Convention of the Party. The membership referendum and the National Convention are the supreme expression of the Party; the N. E. C. cannot sabotage these in order to retain control for that "Socialism" which means a betrayal of Socialism. Let the moderates—the betrayers of Socialism—organize a new party or join the Labor Party.

We refuse to turn over the Socialist Party to the moderates. We shall not abandon the struggle to revolutionize the Party, for the bulk of the membership is overwhelmingly revolutionary. We shall reorganize the Party, we shall crush the moderates and the criers after the dead, we shall make the Party worthy of membership in that Communist International of the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans, of the Socialist Party of Italy, of revolutionary Socialism in all lands. We shall conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism.

Clear the decks!

The slogan of the moderates is: Split the Party for moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism!

The slogan of the Left Wing is: Conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism, for the Communist International!

Bolshevikjabs

JUDGING from the President's message to Congress the question which is now dividing the world is not whether half the population of Europe shall starve to death but whether the American public shall drink light wines and beer.

* * *

This being the case it might be a good idea for Mr. Wilson to come home and thus save the further expense of keeping up a fashionable establishment in Paris. He has apparently decided that the French habit of wine drinking is a good one so there is no further need for his continued absence.

* * *

Democracy, for which the world has been made safe, is now to be extended to industry according to the President's message. If it is going to be as costly as the first dose labor might be better off as it is now.

* * *

Poland is living up to the best traditions of Capitalist "freedom" by celebrating her "liberation" with a pogrom against the Jews.

* * *

This makes her a fit companion for the Society of Nations. When Russia indulged in this form of celebration she was admitted to the best circles but since she has stopped wholesale murders no civilized power will recognize her.

* * *

Bryan says: "any mother with a drunken son" knows more than Wilson. We are not quite sure whether this is an argument for Suffrage or Prohibition. Perhaps it is just a statement of fact.

* * *

"Lenin sues Kolchak for armistice" says Helsingfors. We suppose now that Finland has murdered all the workers she must do something to keep herself in the public eye and lying is as good a way as any other. But both Switzerland and Sweden have got a long start.

* * *

"Allies allow easier payment in Saar terms," say the newspapers. Highway robbery by easy payments a specialty!

* * *

Birds of a feather to flock together—Britain to recognize Kolchak "Government."

* * *

"Indian's Loyalty To British Crown" says *The Christian Science Monitor* and *The New York Tribune* headline answers "Rebellious Mobs In India Beaten By Lack of Arms."

* * *

"Bank of England May Renounce Profits" says the press: Bolshevism!

* * *

The New York Times reports that Jews have been flogged and thrown into prison in Poland because they would not sign a statement making the Bolsheviks responsible for the pogroms. Perhaps this was how the Sisson documents were obtained.

* * *

It appears from the Capitalist Press that the workers of Winnipeg are quite wrong in using the General Strike, a political weapon, to settle an industrial question. If we remember correctly when labor talks of using the General Strike to secure justice for Mooney the same press warns against the use of the General Strike, an industrial weapon, on a political question.

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The only thing as far as we can see that would make any intelligent person favor the League of Nations is the objections raised to it in the Senate.

* * *

"Discharged Soldiers and Sailors, out of work, are dispersed by London police" says a headline which merely goes to show how safe democracy has been made. So safe in fact that nobody seems to be able to get it.

* * *

Austrians urge early presentation of Peace Terms. On the assumption we suppose that even the reality is better than suspense.

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"It was also announced that the council of four had ratified the decision of the economic council to maintain the blockade against Germany until a regular government, based on a free and popular mandate, is set up," says a Paris dispatch. In other words Germany is to be starved to death and then given food.

4

When labor is forging ahead the opposing forces always become anxious for the working man to lose his "rights" and "liberties" are endangered by the strike committee. But the workers have suffered so much damage to their "rights" and "liberties" from the hands of their masters that they can well afford to have them "endangered" by the actions of their own committees. This is the old game of "divide and conquer," but it has been worked out. The workers are not exercised very much just now whether or not their "right" of bargaining by individual factors is "menaced." On the contrary they are beginning to wake up to the fact that the more factories engaged in the bargaining the better the chances of success and signs are not wanting that unless the employers and the Federal Government come to terms very shortly they will have to do the bargaining not only with a Central Strike Committee for one town, but with a Central Strike Committee for the whole country.

A Call to the American Workers

By N. Lenin

(January 12)

Being a New Letter to the Workers of Europe and America—Issued in Pamphlet form by The Brooklyn Publication Society, 243—55th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

COMRADES: At the end of my letter of the 20th of August, 1918, addressed to the American workers, I wrote that we shall find ourselves a beleaguered fortress as long as the rest of the armies of the international Socialist revolution do not come to our aid. I added that the workers will have broken with Gompers and Renner. Slowly but surely the workers are approaching Communist or Bolshevik tactics.

Less than five months have passed since I wrote these words. It can be said that during this time the world revolution of the proletariat has matured with tremendous rapidity, and the workers in various countries have gone over to Communism and Bolshevism. At the time of my writing the above mentioned letter, the 20th of August, 1918, our Bolshevik party was the only one which determinedly fought the old Second International, which lasted from 1889 to 1914, and which was shamefully bankrupt during the imperialist war of 1914-18. Our party was the only one which unqualifiedly took the new road, which leads away from Socialism and Social Democracy, contaminated by an alliance with the brigand bourgeoisie, and toward Communism—the road which leads away from petty bourgeois reformism and opportunism, which had completely permeated and still permeates the official Social Democracy and Socialist parties, and toward the proletarian and revolutionary tactics.

Now, on the 12th of January, 1919, we find a great number of Communist proletarian parties, not only within the confines of the former empire of the Czar, in Lettonia, Finland, Poland, but also in Western Europe—in Austria, Hungary, Holland, and finally in Germany. When the German Spartacus League—led by its world renowned and celebrated leaders, by such ardent supporters of the cause of the laboring class as Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring—finally broke with the Socialist traitors of the Scheidemann and Suedekum stamp, these social patriots (Socialists in words but patriotic in action), who forever contaminated themselves by their alliance with the imperialistic brigand bourgeoisie of Germany and with Wilhelm II.; when the Spartacus League took the name of the Communist Party of Germany, then the foundation was laid for the real proletarian, the real international, the real revolutionary Third International. The Communist International became a reality. Its formation has not yet been formally established, yet, in fact, the Third International is already acting. [It has since been organized, at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919.]

Now, no conscious workingman, and no sincere Socialist, can fail to see what shameful treason against Socialism was perpetrated by those who, in line with the Mensheviks and "Social Revolutionists" of Russia, with the Scheidemanns of Germany, with the Renaudels of France and Vanderveldes in Belgium, with the Hendersons and Webbs in England and with Gompers & Co. in America, supported "their" bourgeoisie in the war of 1914-18. This war has completely revealed itself as an imperialistic and reactionary war of plunder on the part of Germany, as well as on the part of the English, French, Italian and American capitalists. They now begin to quarrel among themselves about the division of the captured spoils, about the division of Turkey, Russia, of the African and Polynesian colonies, of the Balkans, etc. The hypocrisy of phrases about democracy and the "League of Nations" is being vividly exposed when we see that the left bank of the Rhine is being taken by the French bourgeoisie, when we see that Turkey and parts of Russia (Siberia, Archangel, Baku, Krasnovodsk, Aschabad, etc.) are being captured by French, British and American capitalists, when we see that the division of the spoils of brigandage makes for increased hostility between Italy and France, between France and England, between England and America, between America and Japan.

Side by side with these cowardly penny-wise mongers who are stuffed with the prejudices of bourgeois democracy, side by side with these "Socialists," who yesterday defended "their" imperialistic governments, and who today connect themselves to platonic "protests" against "military intervention in Russia"—side by side with them we see in the Allied countries an increase in the number of those who have chosen the Communist road, or the road of MacLean, Debs, Lorot, Lazzari, Serrati—the number of those who understand that only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the annihilation of bourgeois parliamentary government, only Soviet rule and proletarian dictatorship can put an end to Imperialism and safeguard the victory of Socialism, insure a permanent peace.

Then, on the 20th of August, 1918, the social revolution was still confined within the borders of Russia, and the power of the Soviets, i. e., the whole state power, in the hands of the Council of the representatives of the workers, soldiers and peasants, seemed to be (and in fact was) a purely Russian institution. Now, on the 12th of January, 1919, we may notice the

powerful Soviet movement, not only in parts of the former Czar's empire, as Lettonia, Poland and Ukraine, but also in Western European countries; in neutrals: Switzerland, Holland, Norway (of those that have suffered from war), Austria, Germany. The German revolution, which is particularly important and characteristic, as it takes place in one of the most developed capitalist countries, at once took the Soviet form. The whole trend of the development of the German revolution, and especially, the struggle of the Spartacist proletariat against the alliance of the Scheidemannist and Suedekumist elements, with the bourgeoisie; all this clearly shows the historic aspect of the conditions in Germany.

It is a question of either Soviet power or bourgeois parliamentarism, under whatever name (as a national or constitutional convention) it may appear.

This is the world-historic formulation of the question. Now it can be said, and it must be said, without any exaggeration: the "Soviet power" is the second world-historic step, or stage, in the development of proletarian dictatorship. The first step was the Paris Commune. Marx's analysis of the meaning and importance of this Commune in his brochure, "The Civil War in France," shows that the Commune gave birth to a new type of state, the proletarian state. Every state at this time, even the most democratic republic, is nothing but an apparatus of one class for the purpose of suppressing the other classes. The proletarian state is the apparatus whereby the proletariat suppresses the bourgeoisie. Such suppression is unavoidable because of the savage, desperate and unscrupulous opposition which is evinced by the land owners and capitalists, the whole bourgeoisie and all its supporters, all exploiters, when their downfall begins, when the exploiting of the exploiters begins.

As long as the property of the capitalists and their power is being protected by the bourgeois parliament, even the most democratic parliament in the most democratic republic, is an apparatus for the suppression of millions of toilers through small groups of exploiters. Socialists who are fighting for the deliverance of the toilers from exploitation must use the bourgeois parliaments as a tribunal, as one of their bases of propaganda, agitation and organization, as long as our struggle confines itself within the boundaries of the bourgeois social order. Now, when world history has placed on the order of the day the question of the destruction of this whole system, the question of the crushing and suppression of the exploiters and the transition from Capitalism to Socialism—to confine ourselves now to bourgeois parliamentarism, to bourgeois democracy, to picture it as "democracy" in general, to cloak its bourgeois character, to forget that universal suffrage, as long as capitalist property is being protected, is merely acting for the bourgeois state—means shamefully to betray the proletariat, to go over to its class enemies, the bourgeoisie, to become a traitor and a renegade.

These two currents within world Socialism, of which the Bolshevik press was already tirelessly speaking as early as 1915, appears before us with particular clarity when illustrated by the bloody struggle and civil war in Germany.

Karl Liebknecht—his name is known by workers in all countries, everywhere, but especially in the Allied countries, for it stands as a symbol for the fidelity of a leader to the interest of the proletariat, and for fidelity to the Socialist revolution; this name is a symbol for the real convinced, devoted, self-sacrificing, pitiless struggle against Capitalism; this name is a symbol for the ruthless war against Imperialism—not in words but in action, a struggle ready for sacrifice, even when one's own country is in the grip of the hysteria of imperialistic victories. Together with Liebknecht and the Spartacides stands everything that has remained pure and really revolutionary among the German Socialists, all that is the most conscious within the proletariat, the exploited, in whose heart the spirit of rebellion is rising and giving birth to revolution.

Against Liebknecht stand the satellites of Scheidemann and Suedekum and the whole gang of despicable servants of the Kaiser and bourgeoisie. They are traitors to Socialism, such as Samuel Gompers, Webb, Renaudet and Vandervelde. Here we have that upper stratum of the working class which has been bought by the bourgeoisie, and which we, the Bolsheviks, addressing ourselves to the Russian Suedekums, the Mensheviks, used to call "the agents of the bourgeoisie

within the labor movement," and which in America is more appropriately designated by an expression that is magnificent in its expressiveness and striking truthfulness, "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." The newest and most modern form of Socialist treason has found expression in this feature: In all the civilized countries the bourgeoisie, either by colonial exploitation, or by pressing financial profits from formally independent weaker nations, is plundering a population many times as numerous as the population in their own country. Here we have the economic possibility of the "super-profit" for the imperialistic bourgeoisie. And the fact that this bourgeoisie, to some extent, can use this "super-profit" in order to bribe that upper stratum of the proletariat and change it into a reformistic, opportunistic, revolution-scared petty bourgeoisie. Between the Spartacides and the Scheidemanns are fluctuating the Kautskians, the soulmates of Kautsky—in name independent, in action the most dependent in everything and in all connections dependent today upon the bourgeoisie and the Scheidemanns and tomorrow on the Spartacides. Sometimes following the first mentioned, sometimes the other ones. People without ideas, without character, without politics, without honor . . . a living embodiment of Philistine confusion. In words they recognize the social revolution, but in fact they cannot grasp it when it begins, instead of which, in their renegade manner, they advocate "democracy" in general, whereas, as a matter of fact, they are advocates of bourgeois democracy.

In all capitalist countries, any thinking worker can recognize in this treasonable position, which is analogous conditions of national and historical nature, just these three fundamental tendencies, both among Socialists and Syndicalists: for the imperialistic war and the beginning of the world revolution of the proletariat, has revealed with the utmost clearness these ideological-political tendencies.

* * *

The above lines were written before the base and bestial murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was accomplished by the Ebert-Scheidemann government. These lackeys of the bourgeoisie entrusted the German White Guards, who were defending the sacred possessions of capital, with the task of lynching Rosa Luxemburg and shooting Karl Liebknecht in the back, under the manifestly fraudulent pretext that he had sought to "escape." (Russian Czarism, which choked the revolution of 1905 in blood, frequently found it a useful pretext, in shooting down offenders, to accuse them of having attempted to "escape.") Simultaneously these lackeys vested the White Guards with authority, as if they had been guilty of nothing, since their government, of course, stood above all Parties. One cannot find words to express all the vile, contemptible devices resorted to by these creatures who pretend to be Socialists. Evidently history has chosen a course which is to compel the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" to "run the whole gamut" of low-down, bestial, vile actions. The stupid Kautskians, in their paper *Die Freiheit*, may talk about a judgment seat to consist of representatives of "all the Socialist Parties" for they continue to call the Scheidemanns, those beards, and serflike lackeys "Socialists." These heroes of Philistine obtuseness and petty bourgeois timidity do not even understand that "a court" is an organ of state power; but the struggle and the civil war in Germany are precisely concerned with the question of who is to hold this power, either the bourgeoisie whom the Scheidemanns will "serve" as lackeys and instigators of pogroms, or the Kautskians, the jurists of "pure democracy," or the proletariat, which will overthrow the exploiting capitalists and break down their opposition.

The best representatives of the proletarian world international, the unforgettable leaders of the proletarian Socialist revolution, have fallen, but their blood admonishes new and ever new masses of workers to desperate struggle, if not for life then for death. This struggle will lead to victory. In the summer of 1917, we in Russia passed through the "July days," in which the Russian Scheidemanns, Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists, were also cloaking the victories of the White Guards over the Bolsheviks, by calling them victories of the "state power," when the Cossacks in the cities of Petrograd lynched the worker Voinoff for circulating Bolshevik proclamations. We know from experience, how quickly such "victories" of the bourgeoisie and their slaves cured the masses of their illusions as to bourgeois democracy, as to "universal suffrage," and other such things.

Within the bourgeois governing classes of the Entente we can now observe a certain hesitation. One section of these circles recognizes that the process of dissolution of the Entente troops in Russia, where they are aiding the White Guards by advancing the blackest monarchism and feudal landlordism, has already be-

(Continued on page six)

Problems of the Soviet Army

IN accordance with the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, I have assumed command of all the armed forces of the Russian Republic, promising to exert all efforts for the defense of the state against the enemies threatening it from all sides.

Everyone understands that this task is a difficult one, and I am personally conscious of the difficult and complex character of this problem. But, at the same time, I believe and hope that with the aid of the whole command of the Workmen's and Peasants' Red Army and all the true revolutionary forces of the country, I shall succeed faithfully and conscientiously in carrying out my task and defeating our insolent enemy, thus safe-guarding the rights of the poor and of the worker.

Now all are aware of the fact that the armed demonstrations of the Czecho-Slovaks, which at first seemed insignificant, attained the magnitude of an immense conflagration, an uprising of various counter-revolutionary forces which are attempting to encircle the country, thrusting nearer to us the numerous bands of White Guards and traitors. Like hungry jackals, these bands attack us on all sides and the struggle against them, gradually becoming more intense, has become a struggle of life or death; one or the other of the combatants must perish: either they or we. I firmly believe that we shall come out victorious from this struggle, for we are fighting in a sacred cause—for the rights of the poor, for fraternity and justice on earth, and this must triumph over slavery and exploitation.

But, firmly believing in all that, I cannot, to my deep regret, speak as confidently about my immediate aides who have been entrusted with the command of military units and to whom have been given responsible positions. Not all, of course; but some of them have not yet become imbued with the great idea for which every true revolutionist is ready to shed his blood; instead of encouraging their troops and implanting in

Proclamation of Commander in Chief of all the Armed Forces of the Russian Soviet Republic, Vatssetis; countersigned by Members of the Revolutionary Council, Danishevsky and Smirnov; Chief of the General Staff at the Front, Maigur.

them the faith and righteousness of our cause, leading them thus on to victory, some of them suffer from weakness and at critical moments lose their presence of mind. Here and there telegrams report: "I refuse responsibility," "cannot be held responsible for the consequences," and similar expressions. There are cases on record where some threatened to throw off responsibility under circumstances where there was no one else to assume the responsibility, and where a renunciation of responsibility might lead to complete disruption and irreparable injury to the cause.

In studying the conditions which impelled some persons to write about throwing off responsibility, I could not escape the conclusion that the fault lay not in the conditions, but in weakness and confusion of mind. And now, in assuming command of all the armed forces of the Russian Republic, I am obliged to call attention to this deplorable circumstance—the lack of spiritual leadership and the confusion of mind, and at the same time to appeal to all commanders and the rank and file of the soldiers, in these words:

This is neither the time nor the place for such a pernicious attitude in our ranks; remember the great cause we are fighting for and the slogans inscribed on our banners; recall the old oppression and the ocean of tears and blood shed by the poor; and at the thought of all this, let your weakness of spirit end, and out of it come a flaming hatred for the enemies of the poor. Let the great ideas for which the blood of revolutionists is now being shed raise your weakend spirit and evoke a firm faith in our victory; do away with your confusion, and breathe the revolutionary spirit into

your troops, and with them rush against the enemy with the irresistible determination to defeat him. Remember, that the Revolution promotes only the courageous and deserving, and that it pitilessly destroys as useless those who lack spirit. There shall be no such destruction among our ranks, for there is no place for it in a revolutionary army.

Soldiers of the Red Army! You are fighting—and you shall win—for yourselves and for toiling people. Your victory will sweep as a purifying flame throughout the world. Into all the putrid corners of the world your victory will bring joy to the homes of the poor and terror to the palaces of the parasites. The toilers will once again realize that they are a force in the world and that they have been abused, deprived of light, warmth and education simply because they have not been organized. The toilers were disarmed by a clique of landlords, bureaucrats and speculators who seized power. The toiling people are more numerous than all the other classes put together. In our country there are nearly 100 million toilers, and you, soldiers of the Red Army, may by your victories throw a warm ray of freedom in the lives of those 100 million workers; but should you prove badly prepared for the battle or insufficiently courageous, your enemy will triumph. Think what your defeat may bring to the toilers! After your defeat the toilers will lose all their revolutionary gains; they will lose their freedom and again become slaves of the rich and the speculators; they will again become scattered, isolated and poor, and the only thing they will preserve will be eyes with which to weep over their lost freedom. I believe that all members of the Red Army will become imbued with the great idea of our struggle and very soon by concerted action achieve brilliant victories for the glory of our Soviet Republic,—which is yet young, but strong in revolutionary spirit. Let these victories still more strengthen the spirit of our Republic, giving it the power and opportunity to bloom for many, many years to come.

American "Democracy" and the European Workers

By A. Nyemanov

WHEN during the Summer of 1917 the Petrograd workers organized a demonstration to protest against the death sentence to Tom Mooney, the American bourgeois press shrieked its indignation. And of course, so-called "society" joined in the chorus. They were indignant and at the same time astonished at the "impudence" of the workers of far distant Petrograd who came out against the "justice of American democracy."

It goes without saying that the European Socialists have known for a long time that America is dominated by the vested interests. However, for a long while they were of the opinion that America, after all, was more "liberal" than the bourgeois states of western Europe, only now they begin to understand that this opinion was mistaken. "The beautiful reality" is beginning to teach them by experience how little the American bourgeois republic has in common with genuine democracy. They cannot fail to note that the "powers-that-be" of America in their persecution of those who think differently than they, are demonstrating a greater relentlessness than was practiced by the late Czarism.

The other day, according to newspaper dispatches, in a number of cities of Sweden meetings were held to protest against persecution of Socialists and industrialists in our "free-loving" and "democratic" republic. The Swedish comrades apparently are very well posted on the situation in America. They know that about 2,000 "political offenders" are pining away in the prisons and cells of American democracy. They know about the real measure of punishment to which American courts resort.

The Italian Socialists are also well informed on the real situation on this side of the Atlantic. The Italian Socialist press is conducting a systematic information campaign, relative to the severity of American "class justice." During the "festivities" held in Italy to celebrate the presence there of Mr. Wilson, the Italian Socialists did not fail to express their feeling of indignation regarding the persecution of Socialists and industrialists in America.

The American labor press with the "Labor Leader" at the head, prints biting articles against American conditions in regard to the unexampled severity of the sentences—20 years prison confinement—which have fallen to Berger, Engdahl, Germer, Tucker and

Krause. Even the annals of the Czar's court justice pale before these sentences.

The mask of "liberalism" has been torn from the face of American plutocracy. Henceforth the European proletariat knows that where the foot of American official justice treads, there, in the words of the poet—"dies out the very breathing of life" and the "grass ceases to grow." . . . The hard labor sentences in the courts, the unlimited sway of the administrative authorities, the unexampled persecution of the Socialist press, the unheard of organization of secret service spies, which excels even the Turkish secret

service of the Abdul Hamid times; legislative bills which fix a punishment of five years imprisonment for having "unlawful literature"—all these facts have gained wide publicity in the European countries.

Similarly, to those days when stormy meetings of protest against the Czar's reaction were held in America, now such meetings are being held by the European workers in protest against American reaction.

Times are changing! The legend of a "liberal" and "freedom loving" America is no more. Faith in the bourgeoisie has died out. The necessity of fighting these evil and degrading forces which are strangling with their claws America and the whole bourgeois world is daily being forced on the consciousness of the workers the world over.

A Call to the American Workers

(Continued from page five)

gun, that a continued military intervention and an attempt to influence Russia by force would require an army of occupation a million strong for a long period, the surest way of swiftly transplanting the proletarian revolution to the Entente countries. The example of the German army of occupation in Ukraine is sufficiently convincing. Another section of the bourgeoisie in the Entente countries clings as firmly as ever to the idea of military intervention in Russia, together with an "economic siege" (Clemenceau) and of crushing the Soviet Republic. The entire press that serves this bourgeoisie, that is, the greater part of the daily papers in England and France which have been purchased by the capitalists, predicts an immediately impending collapse of the Soviet power, depicts the horrors of hunger in Russia, and spreads lies about "disorders" and the instability of the Soviet government. The White Guards, the troops of the capitalists, aided by the Entente with officers and war supplies, with money and auxiliary troops, these officers cut off Russia's hungry center and north from the grain districts of Siberia and the Don Region. Famine among the workers in Petrograd and Moscow, in Ivanoff-Voznesensk. Never have the masses of the workers suffered such depths of misery, such pangs of hunger, as those which they are now condemned to by the military intervention of the Entente, an intervention which is partly masked

behind a hypocritical assurance that they will not send "their own" troops, while they are continuing to send mercenaries as well as war materials, money and officers. The masses could not bear such misery, if they did not understand that they are defending the world of Socialism both in Russia and the rest of the world.

The Entente and the White Guard forces are holding Archangel, Perm, Rostov on the Don, Baku, Ashgabad, but the "Soviet movement" has taken control of Riga and Kharkov. Letonia and Ukraine are becoming Soviet republics. The workers see that these tremendous sacrifices are not being made in vain, that the Soviet power is great and spreading, growing and establishing itself all over the world. Each month of severe struggle and tremendous sacrifice strengthens the cause of the Soviet power all over the world and weakens its enemies, the exploiters.

Undeniably, the exploiters still have forces at their disposal with which to murder and lynch the finest leaders of the world revolution of the proletariat, to multiply the sufferings and tribulations of the workers in the occupied or conquered countries and districts. Yet all the exploiters in the world have not enough power to conquer the world revolution of the proletariat which will bring to the human race liberation from the yoke of capital, from the constant threat of new and unavoidable imperialistic wars in the interest of Capitalism.

The Left Wing Manifesto and Program

By Louis C. Fraina

Socialism and the War

THE Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, which has been adopted by local after local of Socialist Party, opens with an indictment of the policy and practice of the dominant Socialism during the war:

The Social Democracies of Europe, unable or unwilling to meet the crisis [of the war], were themselves hurled into the conflagration, to be tempered or consumed by it.

Great demonstrations were held in every European country by Socialists protesting against their governments' declarations of war, and the mobilization for war. And we know that these demonstrations were rendered ineffectual by the complete surrender of the Socialist parliamentary leaders and the official Socialist press, with their "justifications" of "defensive wars" and the safeguarding of "democracy."

Why the sudden change of front? Why did the Socialist leaders in the parliament of the belligerents vote the war credits? Why did not moderate Socialism carry out the policy of the Basle Manifesto, namely: the converting of an imperialistic war into a civil war—into a proletarian revolution? Why did it either openly favor the war or adopt a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism?

The dominant moderate Socialism in Europe, that Socialism which was the heart and soul of the old International, accepted the war and entered the service of the governments. Moderate Socialism justified the war, abandoned the class struggle in favor of "class peace" for the successful waging of the war to national victory. In this is comprised the downfall, the collapse, of the Second International.

The representatives of moderate Socialism have adopted the policy of denying that there was any collapse of the International. They claim that Socialism in Europe did try to prevent war; that it did urge the people against the war, denouncing it in unmeasured terms; but that Socialism was not strong enough to prevent the war. This is sheer sophistry. The question is not prevention of the war, but accepting and justifying the war after war was declared.

It is indisputable that the dominant Socialism in Europe divided along national lines, abandoning the class struggle. The majority Socialists of each belligerent group—except the Socialist of Italy and Serbia—denounced each other, declared to the proletariat that the waging of an imperialistic war was necessary to Socialism, that "victory" would promote proletarian interests. Socialism, the coming of the communist Republic, was made dependent upon Imperialism.

The dominant Socialism had repeatedly and emphatically denounced the coming general war as a predatory war of Imperialism, against which Socialism and the proletariat should act. They, the representatives of moderate Socialism, insisted again and again that the clash of international Imperialism was bound to produce a general war of horrible magnitude; that, accordingly, it was the task of Socialism and the proletariat to act against the war as reactionary, imperialistic and counter-revolutionary.

At the time of the first Balkan war, when Europe was threatened with a general conflagration, there was held at Basel, Switzerland, an emergency International Socialist Congress, convened to act on the impending war. This congress, in its Manifesto, denounced the general war that might come as a war unjustifiable on any ground of national interests, as an imperialistic war; and emphasized that Socialism should use the political and economic crisis precipitated by the war to hasten the coming of Socialism, to develop the revolutionary struggle against the war and Capitalism. The Basle Manifesto clearly imposed upon Socialism, not only the necessity of opposing the war, but the necessity of using the war to weaken Capitalism and the state, to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

The war that majority Socialism in Europe stigmatized as imperialistic in 1912, did come in 1914—the same war, produced by the same clash of Imperialism that might have precipitated war in 1912, or earlier at the time of the Agadir crisis. But majority Socialism reversed itself; instead of stigmatizing the war as imperialistic, it accepted the war as a war of national defense, justified it as a war for democracy!

The war originated in the same general causes that operated to produce antagonisms between the European powers. These causes consisted in the struggle for undeveloped territory, the industrial development of which might absorb the surplus capital which the highly developed nations had at their disposal. It was a struggle over Morocco, over Mesopotamia, over the Bagdad Railway, which had produced numerous diplomatic crises, and which finally flared up into war. The facts are conclusive. Socialist theory and Socialist investigation amply demonstrated the imperialistic character of the war.

The dominant moderate Socialism, however, reversing its previous indictment of the war, discarding all their concepts of Imperialism, justified the war as a

war of "national defense." In one nation alone was this true, and that was Serbia; but there the Socialists opposed the war, recognizing that, with the intervention of the great powers, the war ceased to be a national war of Serbia and became a brutal imperialistic world war. The German Socialists, least of all, had the right to speak of a "national war," since Austria-Hungary's immediate purpose was the annihilation of Serbia's national independence.

The argument used by the "theoreticians" of moderate Socialism was that Socialism and Marxism accepted and justified wars of national defense. Precisely; but the question was not whether Socialism accepts wars of national defense, but whether an imperialistic war is a war of national defense. Imperialism is predatory; it annihilates national independence in its struggle for territorial and financial domination. The whole course of the war, the violation by each belligerent of all national "rights," (and now the character of the peace,) prove conclusively the predatory, imperialistic character of the war.

These "theoreticians" of moderate Socialism, moreover, used the fact that Marx accepted "wars of national independence" an argument in their favor. In Germany, Marx's words concerning the necessity of war against Russia were used to justify Germany's aggression. But Marx was speaking of revolutionary national wars of liberation, of wars waged for national independence in the epoch of the revolutionary democracy of Capitalism, completing the abolition of feudalism. At the time Marx urged war against Russia, Czarism was the centre of reaction in Europe; and what Marx urged was a revolutionary democratic war against Russia, of which bourgeois society might have been capable at that time.

But since the days of Marx, the position of being the centre of reaction in Europe had been usurped by Imperial Germany and by the Allies. In other words, instead of the centre of reaction being feudal, Czarist Russia, the centre of reaction had become Imperialism, represented dominantly by Germany, Great Britain and France. "National defense" had become simply a screen behind which to hide sinister purposes of conquest, of Imperialism. Capitalism, at the stage of Imperialism, is in reaction against democracy; the annihilation of democracy is necessary for its purposes and supremacy. To imagine Imperialism capable of waging a revolutionary war of national defense and liberation, of producing a Garibaldi, is to confuse two totally dissimilar stages in the development of Capitalism. A revolutionary war of national defense and liberation, in our generation, can proceed only from a revolt of the oppressed colonial peoples dominated by Imperialism, equally the Imperialism of Germany, Great Britain and France; or from a revolutionary war waged by a Socialist Republic against international Capitalism.

The arguments of "national defense" and "democracy," accordingly, were sheer sophistry on the part of the "theoreticians" of moderate Socialism. Imperialism—and consequently the wars of Imperialism—is against national independence and democracy.

Moreover, the heart and soul of Socialism in action is the class struggle. To yield up the class struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism is to yield up Socialism.

This precisely what majority Socialism did in Europe: abandoned the class struggle in favor of the "national" struggle. This meant a surrender of the independence of the proletariat, of the integrity of Socialism.

The class struggle is fundamental. It is the dynamic factor upon which depends the coming of Socialism. It is the force that determines events, and the destiny of peoples. Separated from the class struggle, Socialism becomes simply an ideal aspiration, a disembodied spirit; abandoning the class struggle, the proletariat becomes the helpless prey of Capitalism. The class struggle "puts a bone" in the aspirations of Socialism; it is the final test of Socialism in action, the only means for the coming of Socialism.

This class struggle splits society, generating implacable class antagonisms. The clash of these antagonisms produces the onward march of historical events; determines the policy of the capitalist class, which is always conscious of class, and of the proletariat, which is not always conscious of its class policy. The coming of Socialism depends upon the conquest of power by the proletariat through the class struggle. End the class struggle, and you end the proletarian struggle to end Capitalism.

This class struggle operates during peace. This is admitted by the "theoreticians" of moderate Socialism. But during the war they developed a new theory: the class struggle prevails during peace, but is suspended during war, being merged in the national struggle.

Let us see. History shows that national struggles

are a form of expressions of the class struggle. The revolutionary wars waged by France against feudal Europe were a national form of the class struggle waged between the capitalist class and the feudal class. The national wars of liberation were revolutionary class struggles. Instead of being suspended during war, the class struggle acquires new potency and significance.

War is the continuation of peace; the policy of a government during war is determined by its policy during peace; the two are inseparable. Moderate Socialism during peace indicted the imperialistic policy of the governments, but during the war they ascribed "democratic" and "liberating" purposes to these same governments. Apparently, according to moderate Socialism, all that a bourgeois government needed to do to become acceptable to Socialism is to declare war! The holy water of the Church was never so potent as this.

The theoretical implications of this acceptance and justification of the war means a break with the fundamentals of Socialism. The class struggle is fundamental to Socialism; but moderate Socialism insisted that national struggles were equally fundamental—a complete castration of Socialism. Moreover, seeing that national struggles in our days are an expression of Imperialism, it was logical to conclude that the coming of Socialism depends upon—Imperialism! This completed the cycle of the collapse of moderate Socialism in Europe—this "Socialism" developing from ordinary social-patriotism into social-Imperialism.

The consequences were disastrous. Instead of using the war to weaken Capitalism and develop the revolutionary struggle, moderate Socialism used the war to strengthen Capitalism and the bourgeois state; to mobilize the proletariat in the service of Imperialism and against Socialism, to prevent a proletarian revolution. The suspension of the class struggle chained the proletariat with chains of iron to the war and the bourgeois state. Capitalism did not suspend the class struggle, it used the war to maintain its supremacy and break up the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The governments consciously used moderate Socialism to mobilize the proletariat for the reactionary war, while the representatives of moderate Socialism developed into counter-revolutionary agents.

The war signaled the end of an epoch in Capitalism. It marked the coming to a head of the violent antagonisms of international Imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown in the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of Imperialism without war, plunged the world into disaster. The war was an expression of the capitalist class struggle against the proletariat, since the stake was world power, and world power means power over the proletariat; and since victory, moreover, meant strengthening national Capitalism and the state against a weakening of the class power of the proletariat. The war provided an opportunity for developing the revolutionary proletarian struggle against Capitalism.

The Basle Manifesto had gauged the situation accurately: the war would produce an economic and political crisis which Socialism should use to hasten the end of Capitalism; or, as the Bolsheviks expressed it in November, 1914—to convert the imperialistic war into a civil war of the oppressed against the oppressors, and for Socialism. The moderates resorted to lying in order to evade the implications of the Basle Manifesto: they declared that the Manifesto expected an immediate revolution upon the declaration of war; that there was no revolution, on the contrary, the masses abandoned Socialism; accordingly, they had—to accept the imperialistic war! This was base distortion. The Basle Manifesto did not expect an immediate revolution; all it expected was an economic and social crisis providing an opportunity for developing the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism; it wasn't the masses who abandoned Socialism as much as it was the dominant moderate Socialism abandoned the masses, delivered the masses as cannon-fodder to the governments.

The test of events exposed the sophistry of the moderates. When the Revolution did come, the moderates, who had previously based their policy on the refusal of the masses to make a revolution, now opposed the Revolution. They depended upon the national struggle; they depended upon Imperialism and the bourgeois state; the necessary consequence of their policy was to act against the proletarian revolution.

The Second International broke down under the test of the war. It broke down under the test of the proletarian revolution. Where it did not accept the war, its major elements opposed the war on the basis of petty bourgeois pacifism—the whole policy was a petty bourgeois policy. The petty bourgeois policy is dependent upon any and everything for the coming of Socialism except the class struggle and the revolution.

Chicago Turns to the Left!

By I. E. Ferguson

THE Cook County Convention of May 17-18 resulted in a clean sweep for the Left Wing. It was more than a test of strength of the local opposing elements, yet even in this limited sense this Convention would be of high national significance, because the Left Wing conquest of Chicago is the best possible proof of the Left Wing conquest of the whole American party—wanting only another half year of conventions and elections to record itself in terms of a new party officialdom and a new orientation in the party policies and tactics.

(1) This Convention was a Left Wing victory on the basis of what is perhaps the most carefully and completely elaborated statement, in terms of platform and resolutions, of the Left Wing movement in this country. (2) This Convention meant a decisive conquest of a local party unit of over 6500 members; a victory so conscious of its own purposes and so definitely organized that it can only make rapid gains from day to day. (3) Finally, this Convention victory will at once be translated into a new control of Local Cook County on the firm basis of revolutionary Socialism.

These are confident claims, but need no argument beyond the textual and mathematical facts which they generalize. At this time the secretarial work has not been completed which will provide the details of the platform and resolutions adopted, but those who recall the program published by the Chicago Communist Propaganda League four of five months ago, to which has been added all available circumstances in the interim, will realize that there was thorough preparation for this Convention so far as the questions of party principles and tactics are concerned.

Postponing this part of the report to a future article, it need only be said now that an American Socialist Party on the basis of the new Cook County program would find itself in complete unity with the Communist International and with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States. A Chicago Left Wing victory takes special significance not only from the importance of the local itself, and the industrial territory tributary to Chicago, but also from the fact that this is the headquarters of the old party regime. The Chicago movement has never had distinctive local character, because its leadership has been tinged with the party officialdom coming in from all over the country.

But the point to be emphasized is the organized character of this Left Wing victory. To the Right Wingers and Centrists this was the mystifying and annoying circumstance. They could understand lots of more or less aimless talking and more or less confused voting, but the sight of a solid Left phalanx of about 400 votes out of some 650—a solid, fairly uniform vote, going with a definite, clear-cut program, carefully discussed and criticised for weeks ahead,—that was not their idea of a "Socialist convention."

The first and perhaps the clearest test vote came with the election of the Resolutions Committee, after Comrade William Bross Lloyd had easily been seated as Chairman as the Left Wing candidate. The highest vote for one of the official family as candidate for the Resolutions Committee was 177; one of the most popular Socialists in Chicago, who has failed to make clear his understanding and alignment on the issues before the party, and may therefore be characterized at the moment as Centrist, received 236 votes; while the five Left Wing candidates averaged close to 400 votes, the high vote going to 448.

The representative character of this Convention is evident from the large number of delegates and the high attendance, the basis of representation being 1 delegate to 10 members. The general issues to come before the Convention had been discussed more or less thoroughly in something like 50 branches, so there was nothing here in the nature of surprise or hasty judgment. The main portions of the resolutions had been published in the Chicago Socialist two weeks before the Convention, and a series of debates had been staged between representatives of the opposing camps.

The Left Wing movement in Chicago, taking its theoretical initiative in the work of the Communist Propaganda League, had assumed definite organization character in about two dozen of the most important

branch units of the city. Under the able and aggressive leadership of Comrade Alexander Stoklitsky, now acting as Translator-Secretary for the Russian Federation, the Russian-speaking branches have received intensive education in the principles of revolutionary Socialism. The Lithuanian Translator-Secretary, Comrade Stilson, the Lettish Secretary, Comrade Purin, the Hungarian Secretary, Comrade Frankel, and many others in the "language" groups have co-operated ably in a dual educational-organization campaign, which showed its results at the Cook County Convention, and is bound within a few months to compel a clear alignment of the American party with the Communist International.

Some of the fundamental snobbery and narrow nationalism of the Right Wingers displayed itself in clumsily indirect insinuations about the "alien" character of the Left Wing—while over-protesting their own own adherence to Socialist internationalism!

This much detail is given to emphasize the organized character of the Chicago Left Wing strength. There is not a branch in the city or county without Left Wing adherents, but the assured control lies in the two dozen or more branches which stand as units on a well-defined program of revolutionary Socialism. This con-

trol has already reflected itself sufficiently in the county organization to assure the Left Wing of the fruits of its victory in relation to the local party and other official activities.

On the other hand the demoralization of the "reactionary" element displayed itself in an almost ludicrous bolting of the Convention during its second session. The Napoleon of the exodus, which took about 10% of the Convention, certainly less than 10%, was a quite amiable Comrade Seymour Stedman, who momentarily forgot his responsibility as one of the National Executive Committee and forgot to use his own better judgment. This handful of delegates, who have been insistent for half a year that somebody was trying to split the party, when faced with the realization that the party was reorganized right under their eyes, without a murmur about a secession, decided to try a little splitting on their own account.

The Convention went through its three sessions of May 18th without a word of curiosity about the bolters, and with relief from their silly tactics of time-killing and obstruction. The opposition to the Left Wing expressed itself in debate and questioning; and the opportunity for real discussion was never cut off by the Left Wing. About all the writer heard of the bolters was that they started a meeting in a nearby hall, but soon came to the conclusion that no one knew what they wanted to do. It was quite apparent that all except the most conspicuous figures finally found their way back to the Convention.

Only Stedman is named from among the little band of bolters because the writer is confident that Stedman regretted his excited action within an hour after the secession; and this typifies the Convention split as not a forecast of any rupture in the local organization. Stedman absolutely realized: the opening of the Convention that the Left Wing had a solid two-thirds vote, which would have easily increased at once if the fight had been made on principles, instead of by sharpening lines by dilatory jockeying which compelled a seemingly harsh offensive on the part of the Left Wing. If anything further is heard of party-splitting in Chicago, Stedman and his dozen or so of official lieutenants will stand convicted of a pre-calculated design toward that end; at least, the deliberate raising of the vanity of personal opinion, or lack of basis for intelligent opinion, above the level of devotion to the Socialist movement.

So much concerning the mechanics and history of this important Convention. Its contributions toward the working out of the new character of the American Socialist movement, in terms of program, tactics, and questions of party organization will be considered in another article.

One comment is made now to counter the impression of an organized vote as indicating a follow-the-leader Convention, all rehearsed in advance. As emphasized above, the main party issues had been thoroughly discussed in advance and the results reduced to definite form, but without prompting or even the operation of those conspicuous on the floor for the Left Wing there were resolutions introduced touching every instant proletarian fight of revolutionary significance. The comrades abroad and our own class-war comrades in the jails, the strikers of Lawrence and Winnipeg, and the fighting I. W. W.—the revolutionary proletarians everywhere—were recognized in kinship in that Convention in the most convincingly genuine way that the writer has ever witnessed in any Socialist gathering. And it is this spontaneous sensitiveness to the world fight of the rising proletariat by the conscious American proletarians which is the vitality of the revolutionary Socialist movement in the United States.

The anniversary of Italy's entrance into the world war passed without any demonstration of celebration the press reports. Apparently the Italian people are recovering their poise.

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